

From Horses to Tour Buses: The Effects of Tourism on Ollantaytambo, Peru

Honors Research Thesis

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by

Melissa Barrett

The Ohio State University

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Project Advisor: Professor Jeffrey Cohen, Department of Anthropology

Contents

Acknowledgements.....	3
Abstract.....	4
Introduction.....	5
Tourism	5
Ollantaytambo	6
History of Tourism in Ollantaytambo	8
Objectives	9
Methods.....	10
Trends	11
Traffic Hazards.....	11
Trash Problems.....	13
Stray Dogs	15
Economy.....	16
Cultural Pride	18
Heightened Differences between Tourists and Locals	19
Tensions between Expats and Locals.....	21
The “Not Me” Phenomenon.....	23
Inequality between Ollantaytambo and Nearby Communities	24
Ruin Preservation	24
Conclusion	26
References.....	28

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Abstract

Many researchers are interested in the effects of tourism on local culture. Nevertheless, few have taken into account the perspectives of expats who are part of the tourism industry. My study focuses on the way expats understand, participate in, and explain tourism and its outcomes in the Peruvian town of Ollantaytambo, in the Sacred Valley of the Inca in the Andes Mountains. My methods include ethnographic fieldwork, specifically observation and open-ended interviews with non-local residents who speak English and Spanish. This research has shown that non-local Ollantaytambo inhabitants believe that tourism has changed the local economy in both positive and problematic ways and contributed to the problems of vehicular traffic and trash accumulation. In addition, non-local Ollantaytambo residents consider tourism to have heightened social differences in the region, specifically between tourists and locals, between expats and locals, and between Ollantaytambo and nearby communities.

Introduction

Tourism

In order to study tourism, I must first define the term. Dean MacCannell begins his book *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* with a poem by Charles Baudelaire who compares tourists to hospital patients: “Life is a hospital where each patient is dying to change beds. One of them would like to suffer in front of the heater; another thinks he could get better next to the window...” (1976: 1). MacCannell explains that tourists are “sightseers, mainly middle-class, who are at this moment deployed throughout the entire world in search of experience” (1976:1). In its basic sense, tourism is temporary travel “away from home” and usually refers to leisure travelers from developed countries who wish to experience the otherness of different cultures (Burns 2004). Most importantly, tourism is recognized as an industry because it is a critical economic activity that generates billions of dollars for which many nations compete (Burns 2004).

A distinction exists between the terms “traveler” and “tourist.” As MacCannell explains, “it is intellectually chic nowadays to deride tourists” (1976:9). While the title “traveler” implies someone who deeply experiences the local cultures of the places he or she visits, the term “tourist” has a negative connotation of a shallow visitor who prefers to skip the local culture and travels to collect photos and key chains. MacCannell argues that this distinction stems from man’s desire to “appear holier than his fellows” (1976:10). Each person wants to have a better appreciation of society than others, but this desire to experience another culture is the basic motivation for travel (MacCannell 1976). Therefore, I will group tourists and travelers into one group for the sake of my study.

Tourism is relevant to anthropology. The industry is prevalent in almost every human society, it is economically important, and it provides a platform for cultural-encounters (Stronza 2001). These are all themes that anthropologists study (Burns 2004). Tourism is a complex phenomenon that incorporates many viewpoints and issues, and anthropology's holistic approach to the study of humanity puts anthropologists in a unique position to analyze the many issues of tourism (Burns 2004). According to Valene Smith, "no single discipline can hope to address all facets of such a complex and dynamic entity nor to draft a single theory of tourism" (1992). However, collaborative research between many disciplines can help explain global tourism (Smith 1992). In order to contribute to this research, I used an anthropological approach to study tourism in the Peruvian town of Ollantaytambo, which I will describe in the next section.

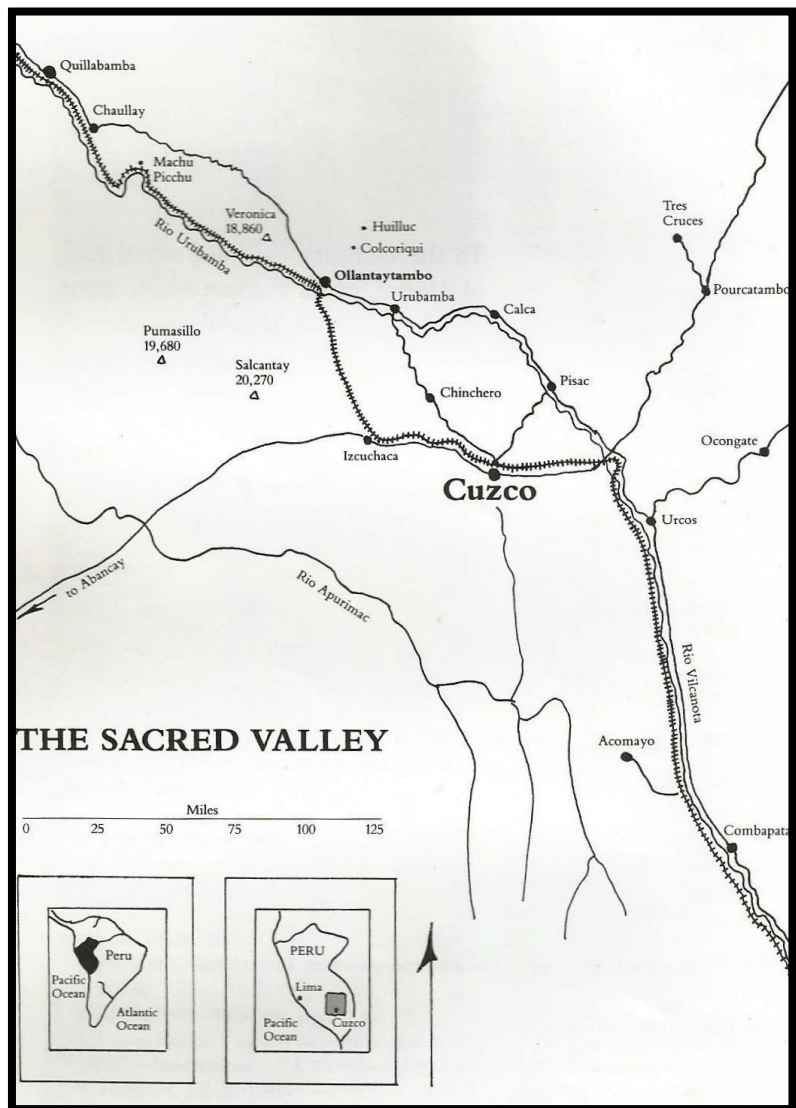
Ollantaytambo

Ollantaytambo is a small town of less than ten thousand inhabitants in the Andes Mountains of Peru (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática). Located along the Urubamba River, the community is situated in the Incan Sacred Valley, a region about one hundred miles long between the town of Pisac to the southeast and the archaeological site of Machu Picchu to the northwest (Hubbard 1990). Ollantaytambo, about a one hour car ride and 4,000 feet descent from the city of Cusco, is 8,000 feet above sea level (Hubbard 1990).

According to Ethan Hubbard, a photographer from Connecticut who traveled to Ollantaytambo in the 1980s, the Sacred Valley helped provide the resources for the development of the Incan empire (1990). The valley has a relatively warm climate and fertile soil, which created an environment conducive for agriculture (Hubbard 1990). In addition, the valley is near the jungle and therefore access to Amazonian plants (Hubbard 1990). E.G. Squier, an American archaeologist who worked in the late 1800s, described the Sacred Valley as "a joy to behold...a

much more benign climate [than Cusco]” (Thompson 2007:152). Squier believed that the Sacred Valley’s beauty and climate made it the Inca’s favorite place for recreation (Thompson 2007).

Ollantaytambo is at least one thousand years old and was one of the last communities that the Inca occupied in Peru (Hubbard 1990). A society that lived before the Inca likely built the town, and the Incas incorporated it into their own society (Hubbard 1990). Many towns in the region still have some Incan architecture, and the inhabitants of modern Ollantaytambo follow the Incan city plan (Hubbard 1990). The community was named after the Incan general Ollantay who rebelled against the Lord Inca Pachacútec over the affections of the Inca’s daughter (McGrath 2004). Ollantaytambo was one of the last towns to withstand Spanish attacks, and the giant fortress the Inca used for defense, called Vilcabamba, still stands (McGrath 2004).



History of Tourism in Ollantaytambo

Tourism in the Peruvian Andes is not a new phenomenon. In 1971, 48,000 tourists, both Peruvian and foreign, took the train from Cusco to Machu Picchu (Van den Berghe 1980). In the 1980s, many of these tourists were hippies “slumming their leisurely way through South America” (Van den Berghe 1980). Hubbard describes these gringos as a “colorful lot...[who] live in the moment, inhabiting a free-spirited world of tramp steamers and cappuccino on terraces under full moons with a gaggle of fellow unwashed travelers” (1990:38). Hugh Thompson, a European archaeologist who temporarily moved his family to the Sacred Valley at the turn of the twenty-first century, noticed “ponytailed hippies and Peace Corps veterans of a certain age” who had moved to the Sacred Valley in the 1970s (2007). One of my informants, Don Daniel, has lived in Ollantaytambo for most of his life and now owns the hotel that his parents ran. Don Daniel reported that in the 1970s and 1980s most visitors to Ollantaytambo were hippies, and his parents provided free board to anyone with an instrument.

The rise in terrorism in Peru in the 1980s deterred many international tourists. However, the decline in terrorism and a rise in economic growth at the turn of the century manifested in a boom in the tourism industry in Peru (Masterson 2009). As tourism in Peru increased, many more travelers arrived in Ollantaytambo. As early as 1989, Hubbard observed tour buses in Ollantaytambo (1990). In the early 2000s, Thompson observed that while Sacred Valley locals still had horses and took care of their small plots of land, “just when you least expected it, with the woodsmoke drifting past the eucalyptus stands...a four-wheel drive would flash past blaring out rap music” (2007:160).

Ollantaytambo’s location has made the town a popular tourist destination for people traveling through the Sacred Valley to Machu Picchu. According to Señor Torres, one of my informants from Spain who runs two hotels in Ollantaytambo, tourism has increased in the town

especially since 2008 when Peru Rail opened a train station. Ollantaytambo is a starting point for adventurers who embark on the Inca Trail. A 2009 New York Times article that features Ollantaytambo romantically describes the town and highlights activities such as mountain biking, horseback riding, and hiking (Brady 2009). The article describes picturesque cafés and hotels, “lovely spot[s] to anchor your trip” (Brady 2009). In addition, as Don Daniel explained to me during our interview, Ollantaytambo is a living ruin. Locals live in houses with Incan foundations, water flows through irrigation systems designed by the Inca, and it is one of the only remaining villages with Incan city planning. It is also home to Incan temples and mountainside terraces. Ollantaytambo’s location, adventure attractions, and history have attracted many visitors.

Objectives

I visited Ollantaytambo as a tourist in the summer of 2012 and made initial observations about tourism’s effects on the town. For example, I noticed that large tour buses and the influx of daily traffic on the narrow streets lined with tourist stalls, restaurants, and hotels had created safety concerns for pedestrians. In addition, I observed that the fortress is open to anyone who purchases an entrance ticket. Visitors are free to hike on most of the temple, which makes the structure vulnerable. While these initial observations were clear when I visited Ollantaytambo for only two days, I wanted to discover what lies beneath the surface. I conducted this pilot project in Ollantaytambo during the summer of 2013 to document how tourism has affected Ollantaytambo from the unique perspective of foreigners compared to a baseline established from literature. I decided to focus on the perspective of expats to add another perspective to

anthropological research and because most of the expats speak English, which made communication easier for me.

Methods

I began my study in Columbus, Ohio, where I conducted library-based research. I read narratives by travelers who visited Ollantaytambo in the 1970s and 1980s to get an idea of the town before the tourist boom. I also read anthropological studies of tourism to see what other researchers have found. I worked with my advisor and turned to texts on ethnography to better familiarize myself with anthropological research methods. My library phase gave me a foundation on which to build my own study.

I did the rest of my work in Ollantaytambo, conducting ethnographic interviews and observations. While in Ollantaytambo, I moved between different hostels. This allowed me to familiarize myself with various parts of town and meet potential informants. Expats who worked in the hostels where I stayed served as my initial informants and provided me with a place to build snowball sampling. I interviewed hostel owners and receptionists, a museum employee, and a volunteer involved with an ecotourism organization.

I conducted seven interviews. Each interview lasted approximately forty minutes, and I asked each informant the same questions. Most of the expats I interviewed spoke both English and Spanish, and I conducted six of the interviews in English and one in Spanish. I have changed the names of my informants for privacy. Although seven is a small sample, my informants were consistent in their answers, and their responses serve as a foundation that can be built upon in the future.

In addition to the formal interviews, I made observations and engaged in casual conversations with Peruvians about tourism. My observations and informal conversations aligned well with the information I learned through formal interviews. For example, many informants discussed river contamination, which I could clearly see by walking through town. A taxi driver told me that certain times of the year he supplements his income as a taxi driver by raising livestock, which is consistent with the information on tourist seasonality that arose in formal interviews. These interviews supplemented with observation and casual conversations allowed me to find preliminary trends of how expats viewed the impacts of tourism.

Trends

Analysis of my informants' responses and my own observations revealed trends in my data. Discussions about traffic, trash, economy, cultural pride, and social tensions dominated the interviews as outcomes of tourism in Ollantaytambo. Moreover, these trends are tied together with the common threads of stressed infrastructure and the expats' separation of themselves from Ollantaytambo locals.

Traffic Hazards

When Hubbard visited Ollantaytambo in 1989, he arrived in the town by hitching a ride on the back of a pick-up truck and observed that he did not see another motorized vehicle (1990). This is no longer the case. All of my informants agreed that traffic in Ollantaytambo is getting worse. The streets are narrow, and giant tour busses barely fit on the road. In addition, large trucks carrying oil from the rain forest to Cusco pass through Ollantaytambo, adding to the congestion and noise. The streets along the main square have sidewalks, but the rest of the town

lacks separate places for pedestrians to walk. The narrow streets, large and frequent vehicles, and lack of sidewalks create a potentially dangerous traffic situation.



Figure 1. An oil truck and other vehicles in the main square



Figure 2. Traffic congestion after a parade

According to Señor Torres, traffic is not a major problem in the morning because the train leaves Ollantaytambo between 7:00 a.m. and 11:00 a.m., removing many tourists and consequently a lot of foot traffic. Traffic becomes more of an issue in the afternoon between 3:00 p.m. and 5:00 p.m. because more people are walking around. Señor Torres believes that no vehicles should be allowed in town because of safety concerns.

Many informants told me that the Peruvian government will soon build a bypass parallel to the train tracks that will connect the rainforest to Cusco and avoid the center of Ollantaytambo.

My informants agree that the government has discussed this for years, and they remain skeptical about how long the project will take. However, the government has begun construction and built part of the road. The bypass will be for large trucks, but a few informants think that it should be open to all vehicles. Mrs. Gilmore, a woman from Scotland who has lived in Ollantaytambo for the last nine years, reported concerns that the bypass will damage the nearby Incan terraces.

“They would have to remove some terraces to build the road,” she said, “but also there will be vibrations from the large vehicles that would disrupt the rocks [that support the terraces].” While my informants are hopeful that the bypass will alleviate the traffic issues, they remain concerned about the safety of people and of Incan terraces.

Trash Problems

All informants agreed that trash is a problem in Ollantaytambo because the town has very few systems in place to address disposal. Señor Torres and Señor Moreno, a long-term ecotourism volunteer from Spain, both explained that the town does not use closed trash containers. A truck that plays music drives around town, and people bring out their garbage when they hear the music. I saw this truck, and it definitely took me by surprise the first time I heard it.



Figure 3. A garbage truck playing music through the streets of Ollantaytambo

In addition to open trash containers, Señor Moreno and Don Mateo, a hotel owner from a different part of Peru, explained that Ollantaytambo does not have a reliable recycling system. In April 2013, someone from the government visited many businesses in Ollantaytambo to collect recyclables, but this service had stopped by July 2013. Don Mateo and Señor Torres explained that seven hostels and four restaurants in Ollantaytambo formed a hostel association that focused on recycling, garbage, green standards, and sustainable tourism. “It costs money, and people aren’t fond of it,” Señor Torres explained. According to Don Mateo, “the person in charge of the association either left or died, and now nobody wants to take over because it is a lot of work.”

According to Don Mateo, most of the waste goes directly into the river. In addition, Don Daniel and Señor Torres explained that the water that flows into Ollantaytambo from Cusco is already contaminated. As I walked through Ollantaytambo myself, I noticed that the streets were very clean. However, I did observe a lot of trash in the water, especially plastic bottles.



Figure 4. Plastic bottles and other garbage in the river

According to the experts with whom I spoke, old habits contribute to the garbage issues in Ollantaytambo. “In the past, locals did not use plastic and were accustomed to throwing their banana peels onto the ground or into the river,” explained Señor Torres. “Now that everyone uses plastic bottles, they still throw them on the ground or in the river. It is what they are used

to.” In addition, Señor Torres explained that the locals do not like the hostel association that tried to promote recycling and sustainable tourism because “associations aren’t their way.” Señor Torres expressed frustration at the unwillingness of the “old generation” to adapt because “they don’t like white people telling them what to do.” However, Señor Torres hopes that the younger generation can improve the garbage situation.

While tourism may not have directly caused the trash problems in Ollantaytambo, many of my informants agreed that tourism has intensified the issue because the number of people in the town using plastic bottles and other materials has increased. Don Daniel asserted that tourists should take a more active role in the garbage situation. “Tourists do not think about the trash,” he exclaimed. “It is the local government’s job, but there are no good trash systems set up. Tourists play such a huge role in contamination, and they should be aware of it and somehow help.”



Figure 5. A hotel in Ollantaytambo has this water jug in its lobby where tourists can refill their plastic bottles. The sign reads, "Don't throw away your plastic bottle! Here you can refill for just 1 sol per liter. Help us fight against our river contamination."

Stray Dogs

Garbage has contributed to the prevalence of stray dogs in Ollantaytambo. Mrs. Gilmore explained that Ollantaytambo has had many dogs on the streets since she arrived nine years ago. People who have dogs as pets do not keep them inside, so the dogs stay outside and mate with each other. The accessible garbage, increased by tourism, provides these stray dogs with food,

informants Don Mateo and Señor Moreno told me. Although I never felt threatened by the many stray dogs I encountered, Señor Moreno expressed great concern about the potential for the dogs to bite people and spread diseases.

Economy

When Hubbard visited Ollantaytambo in the late 1980s, he described the town as a step back in time. Agriculture was the main industry, and even people who did not consider themselves farmers helped work in their family's field (Hubbard 1990). Signorina Maria, an Italian informant who helps run a museum in Ollantaytambo, believes that Ollantaytambo natives are connected with nature and easy going. "They are on Peruvian time," she explained, "and their livelihoods revolve around food, children, and simple living." However, Signorina Maria reported that recently many Ollantaytambo residents are changing their mindset and are becoming money-oriented.

Señor Moreno and Señor Torres stated that what used to be a sleepy agricultural town has quickly transformed, and many people are turning to the tourism industry to earn a living. For example, according to Señor Torres, some people are selling their family's land to buy cars to offer taxi services. In addition, Mrs. Gilmore stated that many more businesses, especially restaurants and hotels with private bathrooms, have opened in Ollantaytambo in the last few years. Señor Torres and Mrs. Gilmore explained that internet access in Ollantaytambo has dramatically increased and helped hotels advertise. All of the tourism-related businesses on the streets of Ollantaytambo are hard to miss. I observed souvenir stalls in the streets, women selling beaded jewelry in the main square, and restaurants and hotels at every corner.



Figure 6. Tourist stalls near the base of Vilcabamba

Despite the increase in businesses geared toward tourists, the expats with whom I spoke had mixed opinions about the effects of tourism on Ollantaytambo's economy. Some informants stated that tourism has been good for the economy of Ollantaytambo because of the influx of money. My informants agreed that the hotel and restaurant owners profit the most from tourism, but they disagreed to the extent the rest of the population benefits from tourism revenues. Don Mateo and Don Daniel lamented that the money hotel and restaurant owners earn remains in their hands and does not spread around the town. Señor Moreno agreed that the profits from tourism are not evenly distributed throughout the population. However, Don Mateo and Señor Moreno explained that most people in Ollantaytambo had some kind of business to make money from tourists, such as selling artwork on the streets. Mrs. Gilmore conceded that although the hotel and restaurant owners profit the most from tourists' dollars, some of the money trickles through the rest of the town.

My informants also had many complaints about the way tourism has affected Ollantaytambo's economy. Señor Moreno explained that the locals raise the prices of their services for tourists. "Restaurants will charge tourists more money than locals for the same food," he said. This practice did not surprise me, but both Señor Moreno and Don Mateo also

reported that the prices of goods in Ollantaytambo have increased for everyone, not just tourists. Don Mateo told me that he and his wife now travel to Urubamba to shop for supplies for their hotel because the prices there are lower than in Ollantaytambo.

In addition to rising prices, many informants lamented that not all of the money that tourists spend in Ollantaytambo actually stays there. The Ministry of Culture of Peru takes care of the nation's ruins (www.cultura.gob.pe). As a result, according to Don Mateo and Don Alfredo, a hotel receptionist from another part of Peru, the Ministry of Culture profits from the entrance tickets tourists buy to see the fortress. They told me that this money goes to Lima or Cusco.

Cultural Pride

Mrs. Gilmore mentioned that tourism has caused the local Ollantaytambo residents to develop a renewed sense of cultural pride. "Locals here value their culture more because people travel long distances to visit Ollantaytambo, and they pay to do so," she explained. I noticed that street vendors sell brightly colored clothing and items decorated with Incan symbols, and many buildings display the rainbow Incan flag. While I cannot possibly come to a conclusion about how tourism has affected cultural pride based on a single interview, I cannot help but offer an alternative explanation.

When Amanda Stronza studied the *Infierno* community in the southeastern Peruvian Amazon between 1996 and 2006, she noticed identity changes among the town's residents in response to tourism (2008). In her article "Through a New Mirror: Reflections on Tourism and Identity in the Amazon," she explains that both the native Ese eja ethnic group and mestizos share the land and together with the company Rainforest Expedition built an ecotourism lodge called Posada Amazonas. Before the lodge's construction in 1998, she noticed that the Ese eja had lower social status than mestizos. However, tourists who visited *Infierno* wanted to learn

more about native customs and way of life. As a result, the Ese eja began to preserve their language, stories, and songs from elders and wanted to share their culture with the tourists. Some mestizos in the area even began to identify themselves as Esa eja. Stronza concludes the *Infierno* community changed its ethnic identity to fit the expectations of tourists (2008). Ollantaytambo locals may also project the image they think tourists want.

While Stronza can draw her conclusion based on ten years of research, I do not have data concerning how locals displayed their culture before the increase in tourism. Perhaps they displayed Incan symbols before the rise in tourism, and maybe they would do the same in the absence of tourism today. Whether locals have increased their cultural pride, project what they think tourists expect, or have not expressed their culture differently because of tourism is an interesting topic for further research.

Heightened Differences between Tourists and Locals

In any city a dichotomy exists between tourists and local residents. Hubbard noticed this separation in Ollantaytambo in the late 1980s, and he writes about it in his book *Journey to Ollantaytambo*:

There are tourists, too, in Ollanta...I watch them as they enter Doña Eva's little store and stand timidly in line to buy a soft drink. They tiptoe in as if the people on the blackened earth floor of spilled kerosene and grease will eat them, or sacrifice them to the Incan gods. The locals continue to look eagerly at them even after years without interaction; I think they want to talk to these white people. They are appreciative, of course, of the little money that they spend on soft drinks and handicrafts. But somehow I sense that the local people want the tourists to unbend and loosen up, get down and slap 'em five, laugh some, treat an old man

in the corner to a free beer. The back streets go unvisited, the food is rarely taken in the cafés, and a one-to-one experience between someone from Belgium and someone from Peru is missed, time after time. They will go home on the buses, hand out the empty Coke bottles to the children's outstretched hands, and wave farewell like Queen Elizabeth to a village they never got to know (1990:40-41).

Some of the expats hinted at this relationship between tourists and locals in present-day Ollantaytambo as well. According to Señor Torres, tourists visit Ollantaytambo for an average of two to three nights. When tourists come to Peru, most only take small vacations and try to see the biggest attractions, such as Machu Picchu. Don Mateo and Señor Torres agree that tourists come to Ollantaytambo because the train stops there, and a visit to Ollantaytambo makes logistical sense on their journey to and from Machu Picchu.

As a result, the expats believe that tourists often do not form a real connection with Ollantaytambo and the people who live there. Don Mateo explained that tourists like Ollantaytambo when they visit, but they “don't know about it” and “don't understand the history of this place.” As Señor Moreno described, tourists often do not spend enough time in Ollantaytambo to understand the town because they are in a rush to see the big sites before they return home. They usually stay in foreign-run hotels, eat at tourist cafés, and do not interact with the locals at all, Señor Moreno continued. Signorina Maria agreed that very few tourists actually experience what they live and instead just travel to see sites to check off their lists. Señor Moreno concluded that the locals have been left out of cultural exchange for years and often have raised their barriers to tourists. Don Daniel added that people from Ollantaytambo want to make connections, and the locals feel a sense of abandonment that people come for only a few days.

In addition to the lack of connection and the sense of abandonment, some of my informants hinted that the presence of wealthy tourists highlights local poverty. For example, Señor Moreno pointed out that locals sell coffee to tourists in cafés for roughly five soles, a price locals themselves cannot afford. “While tourists enjoy the luxury of the fancy, expensive Hiram Bingham train,” Don Daniel added, “the locals try to sell hats through the train windows to survive.” While tourism may have more concrete effects, such as trash and traffic issues, the more subtle, psychological consequences are easier to overlook. More research may better elucidate the psychological effects from the dichotomy between tourists and locals who come together but rarely interact in meaningful ways.

Tensions between Expats and Locals

Ollantaytambo is home to many expats. According to Mrs. Gilmore, in addition to the people who have moved to Ollantaytambo permanently, nonprofit organizations bring an influx of volunteers from around the world who stay in Ollantaytambo longer than most tourists. While I am not aware of any violent conflicts between expats and locals, many of the informants commented on the tense relationship between people who are from Ollantaytambo and foreigners who have relocated there.

According to Don Mateo and Don Daniel, Ollantaytambo has a poor educational system. “There is only one public school here, and it is terrible,” Don Mateo told me. While Don Mateo and Don Daniel have high hopes for the private school Don Daniel is working to start, Señor Torres, Señor Moreno, and Don Mateo explained that the educational system has not given Ollantaytambo residents the skills they need to run hotels and restaurants to the standards of international tourists. As a result, people from other countries and different parts of Peru have come to Ollantaytambo to open businesses.

The expats I interviewed feel that the locals resent foreign business owners. Señor Torres, Señor Moreno, and Don Mateo suggested that the locals envy the business skills of the expats. Mrs. Gilmore proposed that the locals are frustrated that the business owners take an unfair proportion of tourism profits. Don Mateo believes that even a local nonprofit organization makes too much money. In addition, Señor Moreno and Mrs. Gilmore explained that the locals do the hardest labor, such as working as porters for tourists hiking the Inca Trail, which explains the anger the locals feel toward the expats who earn more money from less physical labor. Don Mateo argued that locals resent the expats because the business owners hire workers from Lima or Cusco instead of Ollantaytambo. Finally, a few expats suggested that foreigners bring drugs and alcohol to Ollantaytambo, drawing resentment from locals.

At least some of the resentment locals feel toward expats seems to be mutual. The expats I spoke with often expressed frustration by how the locals run the town. Señor Torres explained that the locals do not try to prevent harmful events. “For example,” he said, “we know that every rainy season, the river will get high. But nobody does anything about it. Three years ago, the river washed away part of the road. And that road still hasn’t been rebuilt.” Some of their discontent rests with the Peruvian government. “The government here doesn’t do anything,” Don Mateo exclaimed to me during our interview, “you pay the government for something, but it does whatever it wants with the money.” Signorina Maria believes that the government creates rules overnight, and she explained to me that one morning she was told she could no longer keep tables outside of the museum because the land was the government’s property.

However, the expats I interviewed felt some frustration toward Ollantaytambo locals in particular, not just with the government. “Locals look at foreigners with resentment,” Señor Torres told me, “but they do not see that we work all day, seven days a week.” A few of the

expats think that the locals hold foreign business owners to stricter rules. For example, Don Mateo explained that people are not allowed to build structures over two stories high because the seasonal flooding causes tall buildings to collapse. As he told me this, he walked me to the window and pointed across the street where locals were constructing a three-story building. Señor Torres also expressed aggravation that nobody minds this violation by local people, yet when he tried to construct a house on a piece of land on which he was not supposed to build, people asked him for his permit within two days of construction. My informants' use of profanity and louder voices while recounting these incidents showed their exasperation with what seems to be a double-standard of law enforcement in Ollantaytambo. None of the expats suggested that tourists contribute to these tensions, but the tourism industry may have been one factor that attracted many expats to Ollantaytambo in the first place.

The “Not Me” Phenomenon

Although many expats commented on the tensions between expats and locals, many of my informants also felt that they were personally exempt from this conflict. For example, one of the points of contention between foreign business owners and locals arises over the fact that allegedly most business owners hire employees from foreign countries or larger Peruvian cities instead of Ollantaytambo. Señor Torres explained this to me in his interview, but he emphasized that *his* business hires locals and pays them well. Similarly, Don Mateo highlighted that his hotel is one of the only eco-friendly businesses in Ollantaytambo, and he uses glass bottles and biodegradable products, thus excluding himself from contributing to Ollantaytambo's trash issues. The *expats* try to recycle; the local people and the local government should take the blame for the garbage problems. In addition, Mrs. Gilmore feels that she is exempt from the

resentment locals feel toward expats because she has raised her two daughters, ages four and seven, in Ollantaytambo. The idea of excluding oneself from the issues others face would benefit from further research.

Inequality between Ollantaytambo and Nearby Communities

When tourists visit Peru, most fly from Lima to Cusco, and take a train from Cusco to Machu Picchu. The train also stops at Ollantaytambo, and many people stop at the town on their way to or from Machu Picchu. According to Señor Moreno, other nearby communities not along the train tracks receive little tourist income. As a result, Señor Moreno explained, the social gap between Ollantaytambo and nearby communities is growing.

Ruin Preservation

From my own experience visiting the archaeological sites at Ollantaytambo, I expected my informants to feel that tourism threatens the preservation of sites. As I walked through the fortress, I saw graffiti. When I hiked to the Pinkuylluna ruins overlooking the town, not a single sign or guard rail stopped me from touching or sitting on the granaries. In contrast, when I tried to do the same a few weeks later at Machu Picchu, a guard quickly told me to stop. Unlike at Machu Picchu, the Ministry of Culture does not limit the number of visitors to the Ollantaytambo ruins per day. I thought such tourist interactions with the archaeological sites in Ollantaytambo would concern my informants.

However, none of the expats with whom I spoke seemed worried that tourists harm the ruins. Don Mateo, Don Alfredo, and Señor Torres emphasized that the Ministry of Culture adequately protects the ruins. Señor Torres and Don Alfredo believe that the sites have been well preserved since they arrived in Ollantaytambo seven and two years ago, respectively. However, Mrs. Gilmore perceives the ruins to be more protected now than when she arrived in

Ollantaytambo nine years ago. She reported that the municipality has recently restored the hiking path to Pinkuylluna and the ruins of Qellorakay, which her family now calls the “new ruins.”

Señor Torres and Don Daniel perceive Ollantaytambo itself to be a ruin and are more concerned with the town than with the archaeological sites. “In order to build anything in Ollantaytambo,” Señor Torres explained, “you need a permit, and you must build with adobe [to keep the Incan atmosphere].” Señor Torres expressed frustration with this, especially because obtaining a permit takes a long time. He seemed to grapple with the issue of preserving Ollantaytambo as a ruin competing with the efficiency of city development. Don Daniel expressed similar frustration with the preservation of ruins. “As a kid, I used to climb all over the fortress,” he recounted to me. “Now, I cannot even get on a rock. They, [the ruins], are preserved. They are there. I just care so much more about the living town. The whole place is a living ruin. It was not prepared to accommodate all this [tourism].” Whether my informants believe the ruins are adequately protected or the welfare of the sites is not their top priority, the expats did not perceive ruin destruction as a major consequence of tourism in Ollantaytambo.

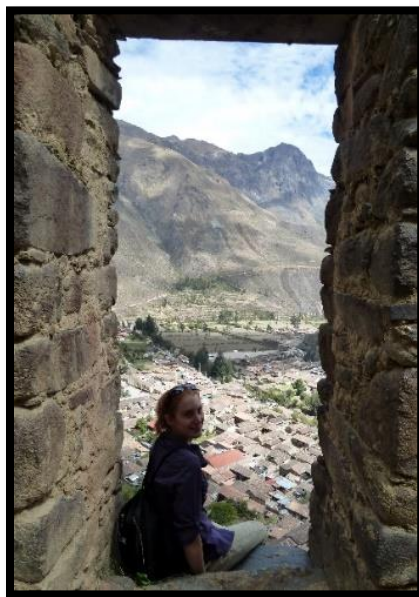


Figure 7. Resting in the window of a granary at Pinkaylluna



Figure 8. Graffiti inside a granary at the fortress



Figure 9. A do-not-walk sign hanging on part of the fortress

Conclusion

With my pilot study, I identified many ways that the expats believe tourism has impacted Ollantaytambo. Some of the consequences of tourism were fairly obvious, such as an increase in traffic and trash problems. In addition, a few of the results surprised me. I expected tourism to have an overwhelmingly positive effect on Ollantaytambo's economy, but the expats had a more reserved evaluation of the economic changes in the town. Similarly, my informants were not nearly as concerned with tourism's effects on the ruins as I had expected.

Many of these themes relate to Ollantaytambo's infrastructure, such as the narrow roads, the lack of recycling, and the poor educational system. As a small town, the systems may serve the purposes of the community. For example, narrow streets are adequate for a town that receives little to no traffic. However, any stress on the infrastructure will likely throw the systems off balance. Tourism, with its influx of people with cars and garbage, puts stress on the infrastructure of Ollantaytambo.

In addition, the perspectives of the expats reveals the distinction they make between themselves and the locals. Even though most of my informants live in Ollantaytambo permanently, they seem to differentiate themselves from the locals. For example, according to my informants, the *expats* try to recycle and know how to run successful businesses, but the *locals* do not care to recycle and do not have adequate business skills. Although the expats did not explicitly state that they are socially superior to the locals, they implicitly set themselves apart.

Most importantly, my study reveals several avenues for future research. Topics such as the increase of cultural pride, the psychological effects from the interactions between tourists and locals, tensions between expats and locals, and the phenomena of informants excluding themselves from problems especially invite further investigation. Furthermore, this research would greatly benefit from the addition of local perspectives. My preliminary research serves as a starting place for future research in tourism studies.

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